The Progressive Review

Nr 269 February 1988

Devolutionism: A new global ideology?

Thomas S. Martin

Until 1796 Sri Lanka's two ethnic communities lived peacefully, sharing their island paradise, minding their own business. For centuries the Dutch and Portuguese had maintained trading posts along the coast, but for the most part had stayed out of the politics of the Tamil and Sinhalese kingdoms. And then the British arrived, unifying the island in an artificial state known as the colony of Ceylon. The Tamil minority in the north, educated and hardworking, soon dominated the colonial bureaucracy, while the Sinhalese majority worked the docks and tea plantations. Independence was achieved in 1948. A parliamentary democracy was established, and the Tamils found themselves a persecuted minority. Sinhala replaced English as the official language and Tamil culture was threatened with assimilation. By the 1980s many Tamils were in full-scale rebellion in an effort to establish -- or more precisely re-establish -- a new nation, Eelam, in the northern third of the island.

The Tamil separatist movement is a classic example of devolutionsism, an inchoate but rapidly growing ideology that could well demolish and replace the world's precarious left-right orientation by the turn of the century. Devolutionism, a natural outgrowth of nineteenth-century nationalism, has only recently been recognized as a threat by the great powers, and they are now sparing no effort to ridicule, ignore, smear, or otherwise crush it. The Sri Lankan nation-state, which like so many others is founded on accidents of history and geography rather than on the self-identity of its people, is brutally suppressing the separatist movement that threatens its existence and that of its power elite. Other than greed and the lure of authority, there is little reason to preserve the artificial polity created by the British invaders two hundred years ago. The "democratic" Colombo government is supported by most western governments. The Tamil United Liberation Front is moderately socialist, but even its extremist branches like the Eelam Tigers -- trained by the PLO -- refuse to take orders from the Soviet Union or any other imperial power. Most of the separatists cannot be called terrorists; they do not want to massacre Sinhalese or overthrow the Sri Lanka government, but merely to be left alone in their part of the island. Sooner or later they will succeed. A bloodbath is already shaping up, but the blood will be on the hands of the reactionary statist forces that are trying to buck the tide of history.

"Nationalism," too often confused with statism, is a loaded word. Almost everyone has an opinion about it, and that opinion is often ambivalent. Nationalism is capable of terrible perversions, like Nazism and the Rambo mentality that afflicts much of America today. But it is also the parent of devolutionism, and if permitted to evolve free of statist restraints, can be a positive and liberating force. A product of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, nationalism is a corollary of democracy -- when people cease to be passive subjects and begin to participate in government, they invariably reject artificial polities and seek to regroup into more natural ethnic, linguistic, religious or cultural domains. The dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and then of the Austro-Hungar-

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ian monarchy is a clear-cut example. This healthy process was well under way in the nineteenth century when, disastrously, it was arrested by the industrial and technological revolution: the military machines and communications capabilities of several European, American and Asian states set the stage of a global imperial conflict on a previously unimagineable scale. For a time it seemed that World War I had broken the statist logjam (Woodrow Wilson preached self-determination for all ethnic groups; his status as a prophet of devolutionism is still largely unappreciated), but then the second World War polarized the planet into two ideological camps. For several decades the American and Soviet juggernauts held the whole human race hostage. But then devolution, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, slowly and deliberately got moving again.

Today the trend is clear. While Washington and the Kremlin continue to rattle their rockets at each other, most of the rest of the world has stopped paying attention. The nonaligned nations, largely ignored or underestimated by the materially comfortable American and Soviet blocs, are pioneering a new international order in which capitalism and communism, individual rights and hierarchy, are complementary rather than antithetical. The old left/right dichotomy no longer means much to most of humanity, but the nonaligned nations have learned to manipulate the superpowers with it, taking aid from both sides in exchange for irrelevant promises of alliance. Most of the sovereign states in existence today genuinely do not take sides in the superpowers' Manichaean struggle, basing their national ethos on what the philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder called "pre-political" factors such as myth, language and tribal identity, as well as on what we may call "post-political" axioms -- pragmatic economics, philosophical eclecticism, and above all co-operation rather than competition. In this hardheaded, down-to-earth *Weltanschauung* rigorous logic and ideology don't count for much: there is no contradiction between an international order in which sovereignty is obsolete, and an extreme nationalism which may fragment the world into a thousand tiny states.

The passing of power

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "devolution" as "the passing of the power or authority of one person or body to another." The term first entered the political vocabulary in Great Britain two decades ago, when a prosperous peacetime Europe began to question the massive centralized establishments that had grown up in an era of statist wars. Conglomerates, broadcasting and air travel, and the Common Market were making national boundaries irrelevant. A more sophisticated and educated populace, often uprooted in an age of easy mobility, was rediscovering its lost heritage and growing less submissive toward the faceless decision makers in distant capitals. The United Kingdom in particular was ripe for a grassroots rebellion, though when it came it surprised everyone in that easygoing, tolerant nation.

The whole history of Britain has been one of centralization. When the Romans departed fifteen hundred years ago the island dissolved like a shattered jigsaw puzzle; the invading Anglo-Saxons slowly put it back together, and the Normans finished the process, building a sociopolitical hierarchy with London at the apex. First Wales, then Scotland and Ireland were drawn into the English orbit, losing virtually all their autonomy. From this base the new United Kingdom went on to conquer a good part of the planet, suffering only one major setback (the loss of the American colonies) before World War II. But the evolution of the British empire had reached its summit and after 1945 devolution set in. India went, followed in the next three decades by almost all the remaining colonies. In the sixties the process of fragmentation reached the shores of the sceptred isle itself.

The Celtic cultures of Scotland and Wales, against all predictions, had survived into the twentieth century, though admittedly not in very good shape. In 1966 the Plaid Cymru, a Welsh nostalgia society given to rather maudlin rhapsodizing over the lost glories of the Celtic fringe, surprisingly won its first seat in Parliament. A year later the fledgling Scottish Nationalist Party did the same. A genteel, British variety of terriorism began to surface: mailboxes, royal monuments and road signs were vandalized, and in Wales a few bombs even exploded. The government established a commission to explore the roots of this resurgent nationalism, and after four years of dithering indecision it recommended a vague "devolution" of authority to the regions. Nothing was done. Even the sweeping changes of the Local Government Act in 1972 ignored the real causes of devolutionary sentiment.

In 1974 the Plaid Cymru and the Scottish Nationalist Party, holding fourteen crucial Parliament seats, forced the shaky Labour government to introduce the Scotland and Wales Bill as the price of their continued support. Four years later, divided into two separate acts, the bill passed, but with the provision that forty percent of the voters in both regions had to approve devolution. Of course no such level of support could be mustered by the nationalist parties. Even if the measures had gone into effect, they would merely have created a couple of almost powerless assemblies. Since the general elections of 1979 Plaid Cymru and the SNP have lost all but four of their seats.

Is devolution dead in Britain? Not at all: it has only shifted emphasis away from Celtic romanticism to a more widespread and pragmatic dissatisfaction with the centralized government. The roots of local automony go very deep in the British countryside, and were not eradicated by the centralizing reforms of the nineteenth century. Today county and district councils have some spending power but none to raise money or to legislate. The 1972 Local Government Act created vast new bureaucracies yet kept the power of taxation firmly at Westminster. Relations between the capital and the local councils deteriorated as tugs-of-war broke out over who had the right to do what and where. As Anthony Sampson points out the *The Changing Anatomy of Britain*, a profound shift was occurring: the Tories, rather than Labour, now espouse centralization in the name of efficiency; "while many left-wing councils -- like the many communist councils in France or Italy -- were trying to build their ideal society from below." Clearly, devolution is no longer a left/right issue, if it ever was. As so often in the past, Britain is blazing a trail that the rest of Europe and North America will follow in the next decade or two: the traditional conservative/liberal dichotomy, offspring of the Enlightenment, is finally going down to its grave, to be replaced by a centrifugal/centripetal polarity.

The decentralizing trend is already far advanced in what we superciliously call the "developing" Third World. Perhaps in no other area is the new international order so evident: the superpowers and their allies have become the stagnant backwater, while genuine change and progress flourish in the "backward" nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. After World War II, when the colonial empires were dismantled, a host of new states with western-style parliamentary democracies came into being. In a very short time it was painfully obvious that virtually everything about these artificial polities was wrong. Their boundaries were the arbitrary frontiers drawn in Berlin or Paris in the nineteenth

THE PROGRESSIVE REVIEW
The Progressive Review is published approximately 9 times a year. One year subscription: $10. Two year subscription: $18. Single issues: $1. The Review uses the services of College Press Service, Pacific News Service, HerSay News Service, and the Cooperative News Service. Editor Sam Smith. ISSN 0889-2202.
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century, and bore little relation to ethnic or linguistic realities. Their governments reflected the pious democratic pretensions of their departing masters rather than the histories or desires of their people. Their leaders were "good natives" educated at Oxford or the Sorbonne.

But the readjustments began almost at once, in some cases even before independence was formally "granted." The Indian viceroyalty fractured into India and Pakistan amidst a bloodbath and a refugee crisis unequalled before or since. Pakistan itself did not last long: Bangla Desh seceded in 1971. Today border strife continues as the three nations dispute the frontiers drawn hastily by the departing British in 1947. India and Pakistan today show signs of further fragmentation as Nagas, Baluchis and Sikhs clamor for more automony. Nigeria, a model British colony and now the most populous nation of Africa, went to great trouble and expense to crush the Biafran separatist movement in 1967-1970. More than one million died and the economy has still not reco-

Dimming the Lights on Public Power

by SCOTT RIDLEY

In the 1930s, Franklin D. Roosevelt said that a community not satisfied with the service or rates of a private utility had "the undeniable right as one of the functions of government to set up its own governmentally-owned and operated service." At the time, Roosevelt was faced with sixteen electric holding companies that controlled 85 percent of the nation's electricity and practiced widespread financial abuse of consumers and stockholders.

While we are most familiar with private electric utilities that dominate the industry, there are currently some 2,000 public, non-profit electric systems serving about 10 percent of America. On average, their rates are 30 percent cheaper than those of private power companies. In size they range from the cities of Seattle, Austin and Los Angeles, to the towns of Readsboro, Vermont and Earlville, Iowa.

But because of recent changes in federal law, the future of electricity in these communities and the plans of others considering the public power option are in jeopardy.

Most of the public power systems now in existence were formed before 1920, and often in the face of adamant opposition from private power companies wanting to retain their exclusive monopolies. Hundreds of other cities and towns fought political battles to form non-profit municipal systems and lost. Throughout the 1920s, nearly a thousand public systems were swallowed up by giant private power companies flush with cash from speculation on Wall Street.

Recently, elected officials, business people, and consumers in a number of cities, faced with rising rates and frustrated with the failure of state regulation, have rediscovered the option of public power. One of the models they look to is Massena, New York. After a successful seven year fight to take over part of the Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation, rates were reduced immediately by 20 percent. Five years later, residential customers in the remaining Niagara Mohawk Territory pay about 40 percent more.

In the past few years, New Orleans, Chicago, Long Island and some 40 other communities have begun efforts to study or takeover private power companies. Alarmed by this renewed interest in public power, private power company leaders have gone to state legislatures to pass laws making public takeovers nearly impossible. And in mid-December, as part of a federal deficit reduction bill, Congress approved a provision which virtually eliminates the ability of a city or town dissatisfied with high rates to finance a takeover with traditional tax-exempt bonds. Since tax-exempt bonds are essential to most municipal takeovers of private utilities, this measure, in effect, puts an end to the public power option all together.

The provision was inserted into the bill by Representative Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL), Chairman of the Joint Taxation Committee, without public hearing or comment. Rostenkowski's interest was to help Commonwealth Edison maintain its economic and political power base in the city. Chicago's franchise with Commonwealth Edison is set to expire in 1990, and the city had included municipalization as part of a study exploring options for franchise renegotiation.

Rostentowski's provision not only cripples the ability of Chicago and other communities considering municipalization to negotiate with their utilities, but also weakens the hand of more than 700 cities and towns across the country that have franchises expiring in the next few years. It also narrows the options of all other municipalities and leaves them captives of the private power companies.

But this attack on public power is only part of a larger effort by private utilities to eliminate competition in the industry and further weaken state regulations. This effort has resulted in a wave of consolidations and mergers and in the formation of new holding companies—the likes of which hasn't been seen in fifty years.

The newly-formed electric holding companies say that the abuses of the past will not be repeated. But the increasing political clout of these companies does not bode well for consumers, local businesses, or elected officials concerned with ensuring fair treatment of their constituents.

Scott Ridley is a Washington, D.C.-based writer and utility analyst and co-author of *Power Struggle: The Hundred Year War Over Electricity* (Harper and Row, 1986).

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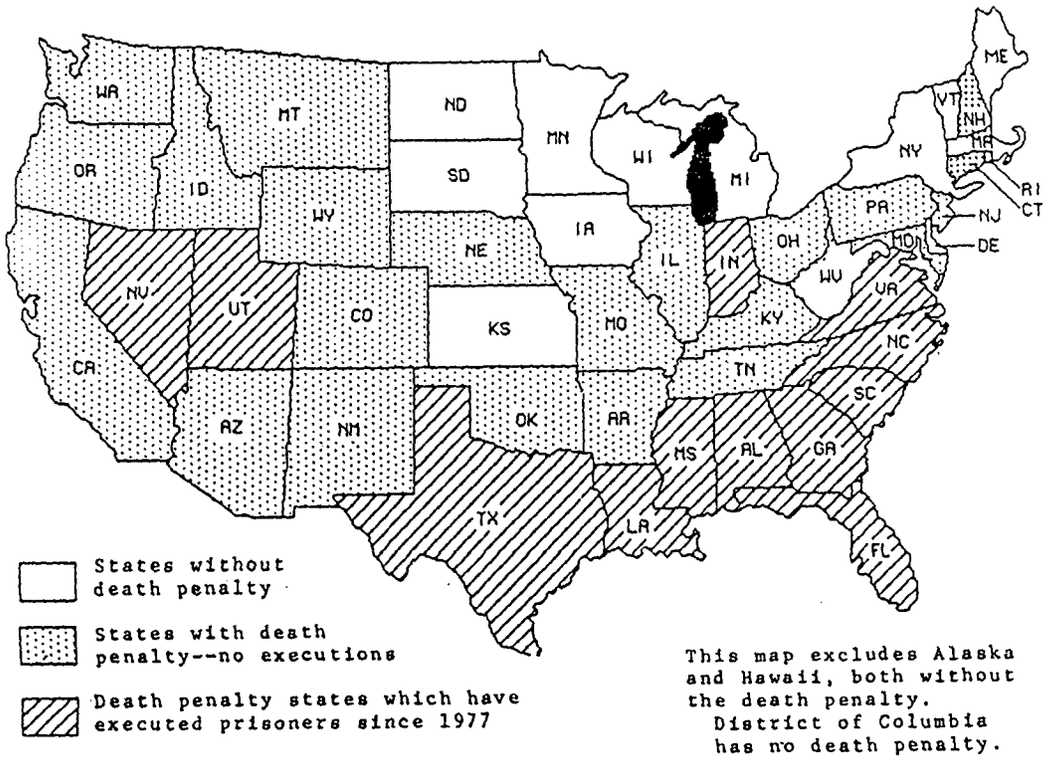

Where the Death Penalty is Used

This map, from the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, shows where executions have been carried out since 1977.

vered -- and what good reason was there not to simply let the Biafrans go? In Zaire, formerly the Belgian Congo, Katanga province has been fighting for independence since 1960, and other regions of the country tend to ignore the central government when they can get away with it.

Devolutionary movements are no longer restricted to the developing continents. The artificial creation known as Yugoslavia was slapped together after World War I out of the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian empire, but the Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Slovene peoples have always resented domination by the Serb majority. Yugoslavia will eventually break up, and probably would have done so long ago had it not been for the repressive communist regime. In Poland, Solidarity and the powerful Catholic church represent a more subtle form of devolutionism as they resist Soviet hegemony. And the Russians themselves are in more trouble than most Americans realize. "Russia," of course, is only one (albeit by far the largest and strongest) of fifteen Soviet socialist republics. Many were conquered centuries ago by the tsars but have never been assimilated. Others were annexed between the world wars and still have vibrantly independent cultures. Attempts to impose the Russian language throughout the USSR have failed dismally, and in recent years non-Russians have judiciously been promoted up through the party ranks. It is estimated that more than one-fifth of the population still adheres to Russian Orthodoxy, and Protestant fundamentalism is showing surprising growth. 11% of the people are Muslims, and the ratio is higher in the armed forces. As the Soviet economy worsens and the war in Afghanistan drags on, opposition to the remote, faceless regime in the Kremlin spreads. Barring some catastrophe like nuclear war, eventually a challenge to the centralized Soviet state will arise. Most likely the Muslim Central Asian republics will go first, inflamed by Islamic fundamentalism. But the Baltic states too are unhappy; so are Georgia and Armenia; even the age-old frustrated dream of an independent Ukraine may be stirring again.

Closer to home, separatist or devolutionary movements in western Europe continue to thrive. The Spanish government in Madrid recently conceded broad local powers to the Basque and Catalan regions. The Basque nationalists, who have a well-earned reputation for gratuitous violence, are losing support as local and central authorities join forces against terrorism; but both regions have taken a giant step toward independence, and will probably achieve it, though not soon. Significantly, the ruling Socialist party simultaneously agreed to devolve more power to its local and regional party organizations. In Britain, Scottish and Welsh nationalism are far from dead, even if they now take a back seat to the struggle between the local councils and Whitehall. Another artificial state, Belgium, continues to suffer tensions between its French and Flemish communities. The highly successful European Economic Community, which has torn down trade and communications barriers across Europe, is not making much headway with its plans for a political union, and probably never will. The former British West Indies has now fragmented into a constellation of tiny states. The Sandinistas in Nicaragua have to reckon not only with the contras, but with demands for self-rule from the unique mixed culture of the Mosquito Coast. The quasi-French culture of Quebec, now three and a half centuries old, is healthier than ever, although the separatist Parti Quebecois was routed in the 1985 elections. Once Quebec-born Brian Mulroney is no longer Prime Minister of Canada, look for another change in the wind.

The United States, because of the high mobility and homogeneity of its population, is not likely to experience devolutionism first-hand. Our one experiment in separatism, the Confederacy, was based on the maintenance of slavery, and never had a chance. However, the idea of states' rights -- once thought to be wholly discredited by the Civil War -- is making a comeback, and is now more or less official Republican party policy. After all, the theory of federalism is built into our constitutional fabric, and a feeling of

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helpless anonymity before a distant central authority is just as real here as in the Soviet Union or Britain. Ronald Reagan has wisely hitched his political wagon to this rising star. Some future adjustment of the American borders, though unlikely, is not impossible. Puerto Rico may yet go its own way, and in recent years the environment-minded Oregon state government has made ominous noises about controlling immigration and land development. The return of federal lands to the states has been mooted, and Indian reservations enjoy a special status not unlike that of the South African Bantustans. Some years ago a book, *Ecotopia*, postulated an independent envorionmentalists' paradise in Washington, Oregon and northern California. In their recent novel *Warday*, Whitley Strieber and James Kunetka portrayed a post-nuclear-holocaust United States broken into warring republics, including one for chicanos. Such a scenario is unlikely at best. But the authors did not manufacture it out of whole cloth; they merely exaggerated and extrapolated distrusts and regional jealousies that already exist today. Their "destructuralists," rejecting all but the most local authority, are not so far-fetched.

There can be no question that the general world trend is now toward devolution, indeed has been for most of this century. The recent failures of several unification efforts throw this into sharp relief. The creation of a pan-Arab state is a perennial will-o'-the-wisp, but in every decade, it seems, a fanatic arises to take on the challenge. Gamal Abdel Nasser's various "United Arab Republics" were an embarrassment to everyone involved. Today Muammar Qaddafi dreams the ancient dream, but has been able to realize nothing more than a bizarre and unconsummated marriage with Morocco. The case of the Arabs shows that an ethnic identity of people in various nations is not enough cause for political union. Jordan, for example, has little reason for existence, historically, geographically or ethnically. Yet it does exist, many of its people fiercely loyal to the Hashemite dynasty, and has survived a great influx of Palestinians and the blandishments of neighboring states that would like to absorb it. To Israelis the pan-Arab dream is a nightmare, but they really don't have much to worry about.

What of the future? Devolutionism in the 1980s is beginning to produce some interesting offspring. The racist government of South Africa, in a transparent effort to convince the world it is doing something about *apartheid*, had carved four "black homelands" out of its own territory, and plans to create half a dozen more. The "Bantustans," as their critics have dubbed them, are little more than dumping grounds for undesirable blacks. For the most part their land is very poor; their independence has been recognized by no one; and they may never be economically free of a smaller but much wealthier white South Africa. But the "homelands" idea may turn out to be a good one in the long run. The proud tribes of the region are still culturally intact, and are hungering for a chance at self-determination. If they can achieve genuine independence, the black republics may yet take a secure place in the growing family of nations. And perhaps similarly downtrodden peoples like the American Indians will take a cue from them.

Every year one or two new sovereign states come into being. There is no reason to suppose that this trend will reverse itself in the twenty-first century. At the same time many of the ancient prerogatives of state sovereignty will be surrendered to the new international order. We should encourage what Edmund Burke feared when he surveyed revolutionary France in 1790: that the state would "crumble away, be disconnected into the dust and powder of individuality." The crumbling has already started, thanks in part to the United Nations, which has forged dozens of agreements that undermine the classic notions of sovereignty. The Universal Postal Union, the International Telecommunications Union, and the International Atomic Energy Agency may be the forerunners of a new order that will govern matters of global concern while leaving internal government to individual states.

In the forty-one years since the United Nations was created,

THE THEOLOGY OF AGRICULTURE

Agricultural theology has one central, undeviating theme. It is that somehow, sometime, the farmer should be returned to the free market. The free market should prevail; those who do not agree are incapable of appreciating the deeper, sterner rules and moralities of economic life, especially as they apply to other people.

•

The reality is that no industrial country — not the United States, not Canada, not the countries of the EEC, not free enterprise Switzerland, not, we all know, Japan — leaves its farmers to the free market. None. Those who affirm the beneficence of the free market for agriculture are, as regards the industrially developed countries, speaking of something that does not exist.

It does not exist because left to market forces, agriculture has a relentless, wholly normal tendency to overproduce... The individual farmer is one among thousands and tens of thousands responding to a market price an situation on which not even the production decisions of the largest individual operator have any appreciable effect.

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As long as we do not recognize the realities of agricultural production and markets, we will continue to do badly at high public cost what with intelligent supply management we could do well at much lower cost.

From a speech by John Kenneth Galbraith before the National Governors Conference last July

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international law has been codified and clarified, and virtually all governments defer to it most of the time. Eventually that law may be recognized by all as sovereign. The world's economy has already shifted away from a national to an international emphasis; thousands of corporations do business across frontiers, as do economic unions like the Common Market and ECOWAS. The United States and the Soviet Union have launched joint enterprises involving Occidental Petroleum, Coca Cola, Monsanto, and Archers-Daniel Midland; at least fifteen more are currently planned. In the future the non-aligned movement, the Organization of African Unity, the OAS and the Arab League will all carry more clout. Smaller and more numerous nations will not be able to maintain economic and technological independence; free trade and co-operation will become a matter of survival for all as they are already for Singapore and Taiwan.

The coming century may see a kind of global feudalism, a unity-in-multiplicity like that of Europe in the Dark Ages, when only the Catholic Church provided a semblance of international order for hundreds of tiny principalities and duchies. But this time there will be no Dark Age. Devolutionism raises no barrier to the continuing expansion of communications, education, trade and cultural exchange. But it creates an insuperable barrier to the maintenance of large military machines and all the other trappings of the age of the superpower. That age is passing, and will be mourned only by the increasingly isolated power elites who benefit from it.

Thomas Martin teaches history at Antioch College. He is the author of Minds and Hearts: The American Revolution as a Philosophical Crisis (1984).

Feminization of power: turning back the clock?

Julianne Malveaux

After its 1987 annual meeting, the National Organization for Women (NOW) identified the "feminization of power" as its new initiative -- committing itself to putting women in highly visible positions of power.

This seems to turn the clock back for the women's movement, back to the days when the organization was for the few and not the many, when more were concerned with the status of professional women than their clerical sisters, when women who did not hold paid jobs said so with averted eyes, when housewife was a dirty word.

While more and more Americans are being marginalized, NOW is seeking the inside track. Women who want the "feminization of power" talk less about changing the rules that lock them out than about bending those rules to let them in. Why else the emphasis on raising millions of dollars for women's campaigns, not on changing campaign laws so running for office will cost less? Or the emphasis on more women office holders, not on the issues these office holders should focus on?

The women's movement has spent too much energy and capital chasing one power position for one woman and then hoping for the trickle down to work. Too many articles are written about women's "networking," about women learning old-boy rules. Too many women trip over their own heels while they race for power, turning into "old boys" in skirts.

In many ways, the same gap between the haves and have-nots among women exists in society today as existed 20 years ago, when the women's movement was just starting. Then President Lyndon Johnson's all-white Women's Commission was concerned with freeing housewives from domestic chores so they could pursue careers. What was needed, they decided, was more domestic help. So the federal government spent millions of dollars training women, mostly women of color, to be maids. For this they were paid the minimum wage or less.

Fewer black women are maids today than 20 years ago, but now they clean hospitals instead.

The power the women's movement has gained means little or nothing

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to the majority of poor women. When we think about the "feminization of power," we need to contrast the image of the highly visible, highly successful woman with that of the welfare mother or clerk-typist stuck in her job.

Half of all women earned less than $270 per week last year. Many who were divorced could not collect on child support payments. Many women of color still work as maids, and too many work in "underground economies" where wages and benefits are low and risks are high. Some earn less than the minimum wage for assembling micro computer chips in the country's Silicon Valleys. Others on welfare work at laundries and in hotels where they are paid under the table and often make no more than $2 or $3 an hour.

Even those feminists who propose equal pay for jobs of equal value as an economic solution to women's problems offer little to the many women who do not have regular paying jobs. By portraying comparable worth as the feminist issue of the '80's, advocates imply that the needs of those who are outside the mainstream job market are not important.

Yet it is the outsiders -- women who are unemployed, underemployed, working at below minimum wage or paid under the table -- who may need more help from public policy than others.

These women join a group of outsiders in our society that is getting larger and larger. There are more part-time workers today than there were ten years ago, many of whom do not get benefits along with their earnings. Undocumented workers are often held hostage by those businesses or industries that will hire them. Plant closures result in rising layoffs and more people whose benefits trickle away from them before they find new employment.

The large number of women without jobs or power poses a serious problem for NOW, one that Molly Yard, the new president of the organization, needs to think about as NOW chases after power because of its new initiative.

Who does NOW want power for, and who will it benefit? Is a select group of women simply angling for a piece of the American pie, or are they willing to consider changing the recipe?

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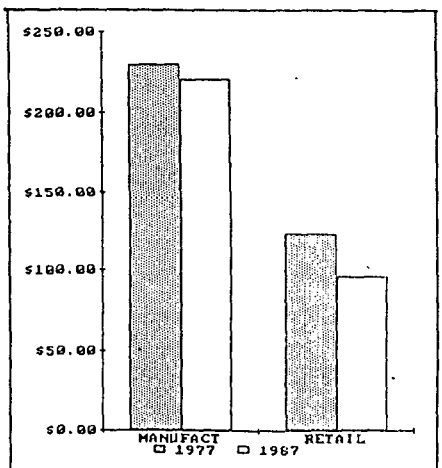
Julianne Malveaux is an economist and writer.



Real Earnings of American Workers

This chart shows how the average earnings of American workers in manufacturing and retail trades have declined since 1977. Data: BLS

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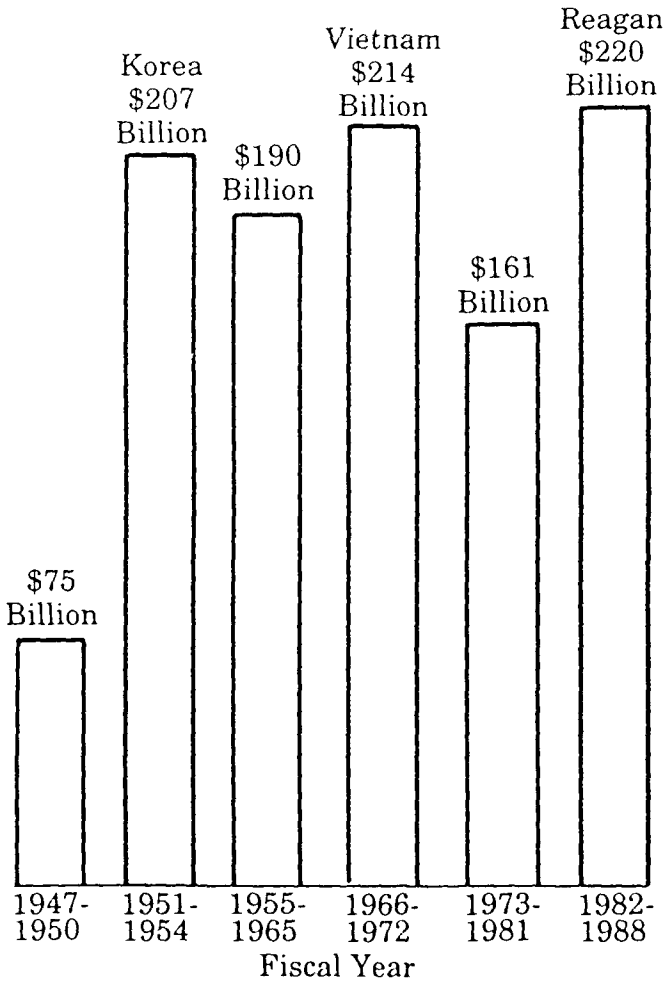
The Reagan years: where $2 trillion went

The Reagan administration has spent $2 trillion on the military. These charts, from the Center for Defense Information indicate what we got for our money.

Military Spending



Average Annual Spending In Constant FY82 $

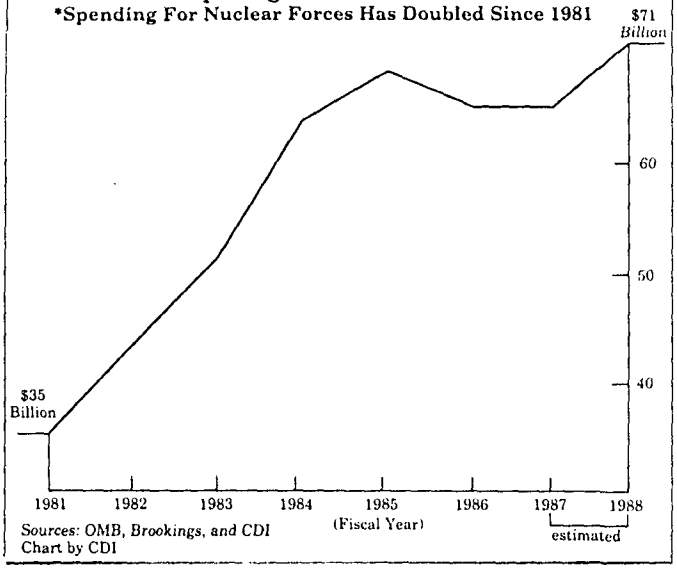
Bought More Weapons Since 1981, But Paid A Lot More For Them

Type of Weapon	Numbers Purchased 1974-1980	Numbers Purchased 1981-1987	Numbers Purchased % Change	Amount Spent* (In Billions) 1974-1980	Amount Spent* (In Billions) 1981-1987	Amount Spent* (In Billions) % Change
Aircraft						
Combat	2,765	2,973	+8	$64.8	$103.3	+59
Airlift	233	276	+18	$1.3	$11.2	+762
Helicopters	975	1,748	+79	$4.3	$17.4	+305
Missiles						
Strategic/Theater	1,405	3,686	+162	$10.6	$20.9	+97
Tactical	270,470	214,899	−21	$14.6	$30.8	+110
Ships						
Combatants	91	91	0	$47.0	$68.8	+46
Other	21	91	+333	$4.1	$4.7	+15
Tanks and Combat Vehicles						
Heavy	4,898	9,747	+99	$6.7	$20.0	+198
Light	5,298	2,985	−44	$1.1	$1.1	0
Other	1,504	3,476	+131	$1.2	$4.2	+250

*Constant 1988 $

Source: Congressional Budget Office — Chart by CDI

Preparing For Nuclear War:
*Spending For Nuclear Forces Has Doubled Since 1981



Sources: OMB, Brookings, and CDI
Chart by CDI

U.S. Failed to Gain on Soviets in Weapons Quality Since 1981

Weapons Technology	1981 U.S. Ahead	1981 Equal	1981 Soviet Ahead	1987 U.S. Ahead	1987 Equal	1987 Soviet Ahead
Nuclear						
ICBMs		X			X	
Strategic Submarines	X			X		
SLBMs	X			X		
Strategic Bombers	X			X		
Cruise Missiles	X			X		
Theater Ballistic Missiles		X			X	
Anti-Nuclear						
Surface-to-Air Missiles			X			X
Anti-Ballistic Missiles			X			X
Anti-Satellite			X			X
Land Forces						
Surface-to-Air Missiles		X			X	
Tanks			X		X ←	
Artillery	X			→		X
Infantry Combat Vehicles			X		X ←	
Anti-Tank Guided Missiles		X			X	
Attack Helicopters	X			X		
Chemical Warfare			X			X
Air Forces						
Fighter/Attack/Interceptor Aircraft	X			X		
Air-to-Air Missiles	X			X		
Air-to-Surface Missiles	X			X		
Air Lift	X			X		
Naval Forces						
Attack Submarines		X		X ←		
Anti-Submarine Warfare	X			X		
Sea-Based Aircraft	X			X		
Surface Combatants		X		X ←		
Naval Cruise Missiles		X			X	
Mine Warfare			X			X
Amphibious Assault	X			X		
Other						
Communications	X			→	X	
Command and Control		X			X	
Electronic Warfare		X			X	
Surveillance/ Reconnaissance	X			X		
Early Warning	X			X		

Sources: DOD and CDI — Chart by CDI

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Miami: the teachers take over

Louis Freedberg

MIAMI -- No one can recall anything quite like it happening before.

At Campbell Drive Middle School, teachers voted to work for an extra pay period, without pay, if administrators agreed to reduce class size. Union representatives readily agreed to an amendment of the contract to put the changes into effect.

At one school, teachers voted to throw out the Spanish program serving English speakers, and contract with Berlitz to provide instructional material instead. At other schools, teachers opted to introduce school uniforms, and restrict enrollments to boys only.

These changes, initiated by teachers, are part of a major effort of the Dade County Public Schools, the fourth largest in the country. The title of the program -- school based management -- sounds like eye-glazing bureaucratese. But what it describes is a radical restructuring of the way schools are run.

Involving 44 out of Miami's 257 schools and some 40,000 students, the project is part of a larger plan to "professionalize" teaching. "We have basically decided to empower teachers, and tried to tie the empowerment to student results," says schools Superintendent Joe Fernandez, who last July became Miami's first Hispanic superintendent and has spearheaded the project. "We're doing the grand experiment here in education. We're basically telling our teachers, 'Dream, the sky is the limit, tell us what you think you have to do to make things better for these children out there.'"

Teachers from around the district were asked to design a tailor-made plan for their schools. The kind of changes being implemented, which at their core take decision making out of administrators' hands in the central office and place them at the school site, have been called for in several major reports on education, most notably that issued by the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession of the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. But Miami is the first school district to put those reforms into practice. Its success or failure is being closely watched by educators around the country.

One of the participating schools is Riviera Junior High School, a blue and white painted campus school in a predominantly Hispanic section of South Dadé County. The school of 1700 students, overcrowded because of the recent Hispanic influx into the county, has a 78 percent Hispanic enrollment. Its principal is Armando Sanchez, whose grandparents came from Cuba to work in Florida's tobacco factories. Last year, 13 teachers got together and came up with their own proposal for restructuring the school. By a vote of 62 in favor, two against and one abstention, teachers overwhelmingly approved the school based management plan.

Since the plan was introduced this fall, Sanchez' role has changed dramatically. Instead of being able to make decisions unilaterally, control of the school now rests in a newly formed council, which meets monthly. Sanchez is on the council, but the majority of its members are teachers' representatives from each of the school's major academic departments. A secretary, a custodian and a union steward also sit on the body.

One of the council's first actions was to change the teaching day from six hour-long periods to seven 50-minute periods. Teachers argued that 60-minute periods are too long to hold the attention of junior high students. And by adding an extra class, the school could offer more electives. The schedule change also gave teachers more time outside the classroom. They decided to spend the time -- 20 minutes a day -- in a variety of non-teaching activities, labeled "professional duty," as a way to help teachers feel more involved in the total life of the school.

Some counsel students. Spanish speaking teachers call parents of Hispanic students who are cutting

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school. Others help monitor the hallways during recess, or assist in the school store. Three teachers were designated "teacher assistants," and spend half their time outside the classroom.

After nine years as a regular classroom teacher, Leslie Vogel, 30, applied and was appointed to one of the new "teacher assistant" positions. She receives the same pay as before, but has an entirely restructured job. She is also co-chair of the council. Last year she was a full-time English teacher; this year she teaches drama and journalism in the mornings, and in the afternoons she counsels potential dropouts and coordinates other teachers who are counseling students as part of their "professional duty."

Vogel's involvement has tripled the number of students who receive counseling. "We're just starting out, we don't know what the long-term effects are going to be," she says of the new system. "As of now, three months into the school year, it seems to be working."

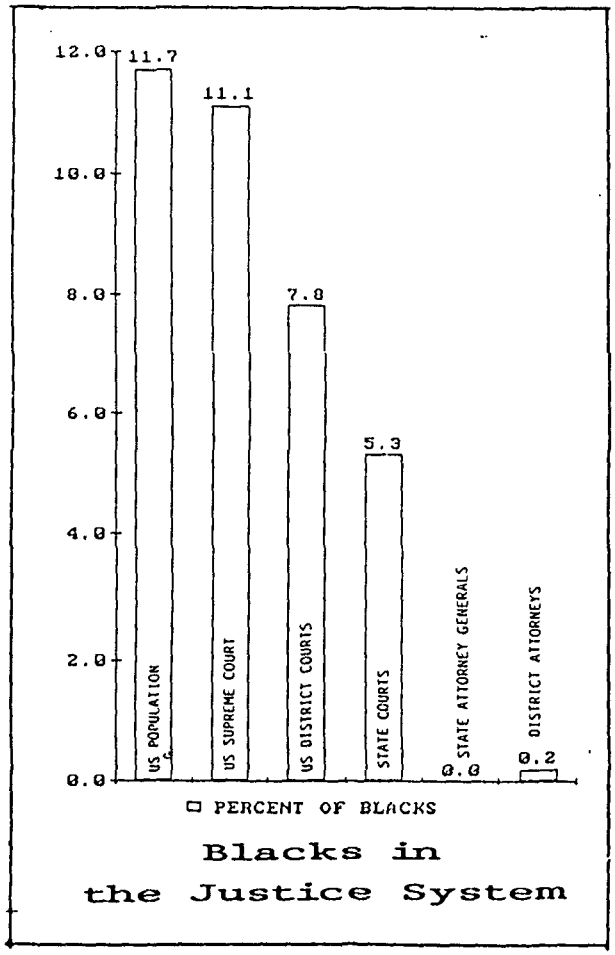
As part of the plan, all teaching staff are required to volunteer in one of several committees which oversee aspects of the school environment, such as curriculum, school finances, and student services. The result, says principal Sanchez, is that "there is better morale, because the teachers feel they have some control over the school's destiny." The hope is that by structuring their own programs, teachers will be more effective in the classroom, and that students will perform better as a result.

Gerald Dreyfuss, who coordinates the program from the central administration office, says that before it was introduced the principal had to penetrate several layers of bureaucracy to reach the superintendent. "The principal reported to a director, who reported to an area superintendent, who reported to a deputy superintendent, who reported to the superintendent," he says. Now principals report through him directly to the superintendent.

Superintendent Fernandez rejects suggestions that the changes being implemented could result in the same kind of chaos that existed in many "alternative" education programs of the 1960s. The difference, he says, is that those experiments were not developed by the schools themselves, but by administrators in the central office who may or may not have had experience in those schools. "We're saying to the teachers, 'You live here, you know the students, you know where they come from and where they go at the end of the school day.'"

The only reason Fernandez says he has not expanded the program beyond the one-sixth of the schools currently participating is that he wants to evaluate the current projects to see what is or isn't working.

In the meantime, there seems to be a new enthusiasm afoot in those participating schools. Says Margo McFarland, a veteran teacher and the union steward on the council of Riviera Junior High, "This is the most exciting project I have participated in since I began my teaching career." *(C) PNS*



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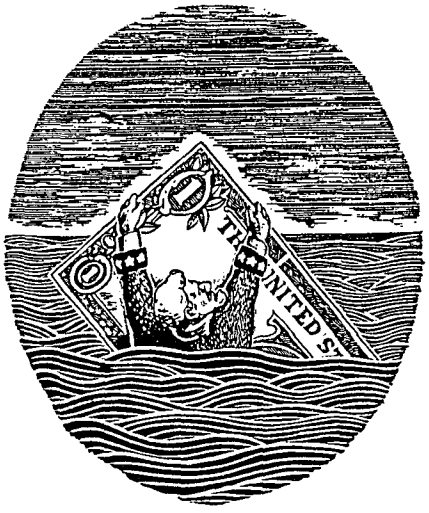
College offers plan for single mothers

A Vermont college has come up with an idea that may help single parents continue their education. Goddard College's 'Single Parent Project' allows single mothers and their children to live in college dorms while the women study for their degrees. The state welfare program pays for room, board and living expenses, while a combination of federal and state grants and loans -- as well as money from the college -- covers the cost of tuition, fees and child care. Info: Douglas North, Single Parent Project, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vt. 05667.

Women take over housing project

In a Costa Rican community, women are heading up a building project they belive will serve low-income families, meet the needs of women and children, and cost considerably less money than similar governmental efforts. Six years ago, says the Canadian publication *Women and Environments*, members of the Heredia housing cooperative project led a hunger strike demanding 'dignified living conditions.' Among their specific demands: that they be allowed to purchase government land and decide for themselves the design and construction of their community housing. Their studies showed that they could do the job for 1/7 of the cost of a government-run project. The Costa Rican Ministry of Housing agreed in 1985 to fund the idea. The project will ultimately house 15,000 people. Half of those households are female-headed. Each house will have a small patio where children can play and the homes' entrances will be at the side of the buildings to help prevent children from running into traffic. Every five homes will share a communal yard offering additional play space, while home owners will also share in the costs of parks, community kitchens, day care and health centers, schools, a community hall, a library and a children's activity center.

WEATHER REPORT



How bad is ground water contamination?

The persistence and quantity of farm chemicals found in Iowa's ground water raises questions for the whole nation, says William Mueller in a recent issue of *Harrowsmith*. When Iowa researcher George Hallberg found residues from farm fertilizers and pesticides in the water of the Big Spring watershed, it threw doubt on manufacturer claims that their chemicals break down in the soils before reaching the water. The Iowa findings call into question the premises on which safe-application rates of agricultural chemicals are based, says the Institute for Alternative Agriculture.

Furthermore. . .

● Look for a revival of interest in the KAL disaster. Years of research by investigators is finally producing some interest on Capitol Hill in opening an investigation into the crash. Rep. Lee Hamilton has already released an intelligence analysis that shows the Soviets thought they were pursuing a US reconnaissance flight "through most, if not all, of the overflight." The administration knew this at the time but continued to issue statements such as press officer Larry Speakes' claim that there was 'irrefutable' proof that the Russians had knowingly shot down a civilian aircraft. There's much more to come here.

● Liechtenstein, East Germany, Haiti and the Philippines joined 62 other countries last year by abolishing the death penalty.

● The Soviet Union's top ranking judge has urged his country to limit pre-trial detention to six months. If the idea is approved, that will leave the US, Chile and South Africa as the major countries of the world where you can be locked up without trial for an indefinite period.

● *Extra*, the newsletter of FAIR, points out that *Nightline* has never had a panel of progressives criticizing, say, the Granadan invasion, like it had three reactionary critics of the INF treaty recently. Even when polls show that 70-80% of the public favors a bilateral freeze, there has never been a panel of freeze advocates on *Nightline* either. Asked FAIR in a letter to *Nightline:* "When will Nightline be as open to minority viewpoints of the left as it is to those of the right?"

● Detroit mayor Coleman Young on Jesse Jackson: "The trouble with

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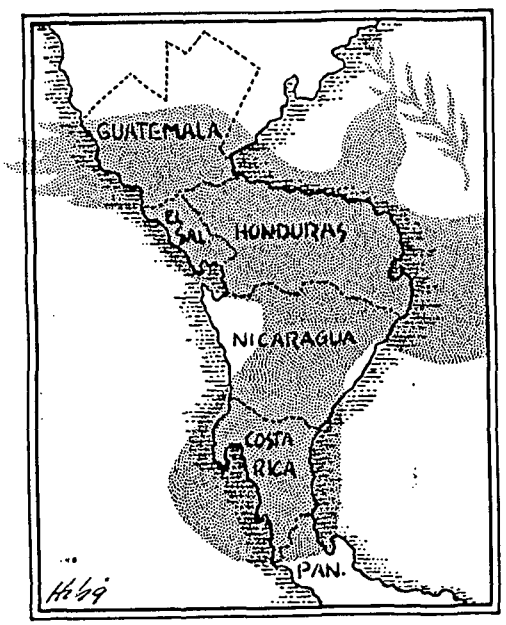
Jesse is that he ain't never run nothing but his mouth."

● According to Paul Krassner's *Realist*, Nicaragua is not the only Central American country without a free press. In sainted Grenada, which we invaded on behalf of democracy, there is no daily paper and only one radio station. The government has now set up a censorship board to ban calypso songs with politically offensive lyrics.

● A partnership between the state of Texas and Israel has produced a prototype farm at Laredo Junior College. Using Israeli expertise, an Israeli-style drip irrigation system is being installed and the farm is being managed by an Israeli. The environment of Israel and this part of Texas are similar. Says Israeli deputy agricultural minister Abraham Katz-Oz, "It's a new kind of diplomacy. We're building connections between people, not governments."



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